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VIEWS AND REVIEWS

Toledo has 680 acres of public parks exclusive of the unimproved Ravine Park, the area of which has not been stated, according to the last annual report of the public welfare department.

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The Ohio supreme court by a 4 to 3 vote has sustained the emergency clause of the state reorganization bill under which a referendum on the measure was denied. The new administrative code accordingly went into effect July 1.

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On June 17, the people of Niagara Falls voted to retain the manager form of government and rejected a proposal to return to the old aldermanic plan. The vote was 5275 to 3680 in favor of C. M.

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The last Illinois legislature passed a law taking the names of presidential electors off the ballot but it was vetoed by Governor Small. The law was copied from that of Nebraska and Iowa, and would have meant a desirable physical shortening of the ballot.

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The Wisconsin legislature passed the Summerville bill which permits any county in the state to adopt a governing board of five county commissioners elected in rotation from districts of equal population, in place of the existing and usually larger boards of supervisors.

The Milwaukee rent regulation law has been declared void by the Wisconsin supreme court because it applied to one city only and was therefore special legislation prohibited by the state constitution. This law was very similar to the rent law of the District of Columbia. The Milwaukee rent bureau is reported to have settled about 500 cases of disputed rents.

✻

Oregon recently amended her constitution to permit the governor to veto separately the emergency clause of any measure and thus afford an opportunity for a referendum on it which had been denied by the legislature. This is the amendment, discussed in the June REVIEW, which grew out of the widespread popular dissatisfaction with the common practice of tacking an emergency clause to all sorts of measures.

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"The worst trouble of a city manager," the *Rocky Mount Telegram* surmises, "would be managing the board of aldermen." It is the worst of any general manager's troubles—managing what corresponds to his board of aldermen. Many a chamber of commerce secretary would, if disposed to be utterly candid, confess his board of directors his foremost embarrassment, and many a stenographer that if it wasn't for the boss her job would be a cinch.

Some time ago the League responded to a request from the American consul at Plymouth for information as to how the manager form of government might be applied to English cities. The *Local Government Journal* has since reported that Birmingham is discussing whether it would not be well to appoint an official who would exercise supreme control over all the city's undertakings and direct its administrative policies. The *Birmingham Daily Post* states that "business men are questioning the wisdom of dividing administrative work into compartments, the head of each of which is a separate manager or chief officer acting mainly 'on his own,' without that departmental cohesion which is insisted upon by the managing director of a large commercial undertaking."

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The idea that municipal administration is a job for trained men, fitted by capacity and experience for the highly involved matters they have to handle, is beginning to filter through our so-called democratic dogma that any man is good enough for a public office. Mayor Carlson of Jamestown had this to say to the New York Conference of Mayors:

> It is also well to keep in mind the fact that real efficiency which is but another word for economy can only be secured by the retention in office of well-trained officials. Most cities permit too frequent changes in the administrative personnel. Continuity of service is essential because this gives the people the benefit of the added experience which is possessed by an official whose tenure of office is of long duration.

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New York has been spending about $1,000,000 each year in printing the session laws in the newspapers. It's a great graft. The people receive no benefit whatever from the expenditure. It is nothing less than a bribe to the newspapers, and the governor properly recommended that it be discontinued. Here, however, his up-state followers broke away and were not won over until the bill had been amended to continue the printing this year. The evil day is thus postponed and perhaps the governor won't be so powerful next year. At the same session, reductions, which many think will prove serious, were made in appropriations to state hospitals and insane asylums.

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Seattle's Troubles in Verse

It will be remembered that a Seattle grand jury has decided that the city paid three times too much for its traction system, and the mayor's engineer believes that the price was 100 per cent too high. This plus the short term in which the purchase bonds are to be paid off imposes a very difficult task on municipal ownership. The situation has inspired the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* to verse addressed to the former owners:

> We're in an awful mess, alas! Remember back a year or two we bought a street car line from you.
>
> Your demonstrator failed to show us how to make the blamed thing go, and thus, although it gives us pain, we'll have to ship it back again.
>
> You showed us figures you'd prepared. "A child can run it," you declared. "You'll like your little plaything fine, just decorate the dotted line."
>
> You let us heft your one-man cars and monkey with the nickel jars; you showed us how to throw the switch and said, "No hurry for the pay," and so we bought it right away.
>
> And having bought, we looked around, and to our deep dismay we found, by placing sleuths upon the trail, that we had spent a lot of kale.
>
> We had a jury probe the deal, we paid three times too much, we feel; and so your kiddy cars and track we're wrapping up and shipping back.
>
> To own it wasn't any fun. It didn't leave us anyone to roundly cuss when things went wrong.
>
> You see, we'd cussed you boys so long it sort

of left us in the air. We really were not treated fair.

So take your car line, we implore, so we can razz you boys once more.

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What Does "Civic" Mean to You?

When you hear of a civic association, club, federation or league, what is the field of work which immediately occurs to you? Do you think of a voters' league which recommends candidates for public office, or an improvement association which interests itself with the protection and advancement of its own neighborhood? Or do you think of an organization which fosters good citizenship? Perhaps you connect the term *civic* with the process of beautifying the town or neighborhood. Perhaps it means organized effort for improved public health, public education and recreation? Or do you confine its significance to the physical environment of town and country? Is the term *community* an acceptable substitute for *civic* in your mind?

In any case do you believe that the term *civic* is outworn? Or do you believe that it is coming more and more to define the relation of a citizen to his neighbor, his town, his state and his nation?

Let us hear from our readers on this nomenclature?

H. J.

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Why a Lieutenant Governor?

The article in this issue on "How to Save Our Governors" was called out by the recent article in the REVIEW by Governor Smith on "How We Ruin Our Governors." Mr. Mandel wants to see much of the detail which absorbs a good part of the governor's energy transferred to the lieutenant governor, who will thus be put in training for the governorship, should he be called upon to assume it.

But why undertake to animate a stuffed shirt? What the governor needs is a sort of executive secretary to whom the law would delegate supervision over such detail as should be handled in the executive offices. The lieutenant governor fulfills satisfactorily the prime purpose for which he is elected, namely, to act in case the governor is incapacitated or resigns. The governor does not appoint him and can not remove him. He often has political ambitions of his own which may be embarrassing to the governor. It is not fair to the latter to ask him to share even minor executive duties with one who can never be considered an integral part of the administration.

Our model state constitution provides for no lieutenant governor. Under it, succession devolves upon the president of the senate. Really, shouldn't we accept this supernumerary as he is or abolish him altogether?

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Are Budgets Dull?

"Budgets are not merely affairs of arithmetic," said Gladstone. And yet the fact remains that for most of us the budget of our city, state, or nation is an affair of arithmetic in which we are little interested, except perchance in the size of the grand total and its effect on our tax bill. Contrary to the expectation of the early enthusiasts for budget reform, the people have not been interested in the social facts behind the budget. It has been hard enough to interest them in totals.

Totals, however, have been mounting so rapidly lately that the press and public have begun to analyze them occasionally. Organizations of taxpayers have been formed to fight proposed budgets, and in the field of state government particularly the resulting analysis has thrown additional light on the need for administrative reform.

Business also feels the strain. The California budget, for example, was sharply attacked by attorneys employed by the public utilities in an effort to show that it was excessive. High costs in public as in domestic life send us back to an examination of the facts.

Budget Commissioner Dawes brings to his work a fiery personality and a happy faculty of getting on the front page of the newspapers. His declared intention to enforce economy upon the different bureaus will have the strong backing of the country. The press has led us to expect much, probably too much, from the new federal budget system. How far it will succeed depends upon how rigorously and conscientiously it is administered. General Dawes seems to have the dramatic instinct which goes far in taking the dullness out of the budget. So far, so good.

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Co-operative Municipal Ownership.

Springfield, Ill., has undertaken a plan of municipal ownership which involves citizen co-operation with the city dollar for dollar. It provides for the unification of the municipal electric plant with the electric and heating plants of the Springfield Gas and Electric Company and operation by the city of the combined properties. The purchase price of the privately owned utilities will be about $1,000,000 which is beyond the borrowing capacity of the city. The franchise of the utilities company was about to expire. The company refused to accept a renewal unless the city could cease operating its plant, which was furnishing current 25 to 33⅓ per cent cheaper than the company. Clearly, public opinion would not stand for this.

Under the leadership of the chamber of commerce a plan was worked out by which half the purchase price would be met by the city and half subscribed by the citizens. The city is to issue $500,000 worth of bonds. The Springfield Citizens' Electric Company is to furnish $500,000 in cash to cover the balance of the purchase price, which is to be determined by three arbitrators. The Citizens' Company will lease their properties to the city. In return the city will pay an annual rental equal to seven per cent of the stock and bonds of the company, and an amount sufficient to retire the stock and bonds within twenty years, when the city will have title to the whole plant.

The stock of the Citizens' Company was all sold in a six day campaign. It is distributed widely among about 2,000 purchasers. There was only one subscription of $10,000 and very few of $5,000. Naturally the larger financial interests were suspicious and some were actively opposed.

Future developments will be watched with interest. Hal M. Smith is chairman of the committee which worked out the plan and C. E. Jenks is manager of the chamber of commerce.

BOY SCOUTS BEGIN LONG CIVIC EXPEDITION

CLINTON, IOWA, STARTS A NEW SCHOOL FOR PATRIOTISM

BY J. C. VANT HUL, JR.
General Secretary, Clinton Chamber of Commerce

CLINTON, IOWA, is sending two hundred Boy Scouts on a big hike through several mid-western states culminating in a specially privileged visit at Yellowstone Park. Slowly, but surely, the truth is dawning upon the commercial and civic organization leaders everywhere, that commerce and industry can best be carried on by those who have an abiding faith in the solidity and greatness of our country, its institutions, and its tremendous resources. The commercial organization of today realizes at last that the promotion of civic ideals comes first, and the prosecution of commercialism must take second place, because a community can only continue to do business successfully if it is first made a good community in which to live.

Small wonder, then, that the business and professional men of Clinton grasped the opportunity to give two hundred of its brightest and most competent lads a summer vacation that will combine recreational and educational opportunities of a most practical and valuable nature. For several summers past, its Boy Scouts had enjoyed camps, hikes and all the things that pertain to scouting, in the territory contiguous to the home grounds. But with the development of the highways, and the universal use of motor cars and trucks, came the suggestion that this year they be given a chance to really see something of the great central western section of the United States, and Yellowstone National Park was proposed as the objective point.

After months of preparation, two hundred of the nearly one thousand Clinton Boy Scouts have been finally selected for this gigantic expedition. Moreover, fifty of the leading business and professional men of Clinton are going to be boys again for the time being, and are taking their vacations by serving as drivers for the boys, and lending their cars for this trip.

Fifty passenger cars and five huge trucks, loaded to capacity with all the numerous things necessary to maintain the party on the six weeks tour, will depart from Clinton. The caravan will carry complete commissary and camping equipment. It will have a moving picture department and will film scenes as it goes. A wireless telegraph and telephone outfit will be carried. A traveling press bureau will be taken along. Doctors, nurses, chaplains, mechanics, cooks are included in the executive personnel, and the boys will be taken care of every minute while away from home.

The party will camp at night at some place where excellent camping facilities are available. A great many communities are planning special entertainment for them. Pains will be taken to instruct them on all the historic and special features of territory traversed. Several days will be spent in the famous Black Hills territory, and the boys will be given a special lecture on the Bad Lands by Professor

O'Hara, president of the South Dakota State School of Mines. Many side trips to important points in the Black Hills are planned with Deadwood as the base. The bureau of national parks is placing special guides at the disposal of the party and will take them into places in Yellowstone that few tourists are privileged to enter. The commissioner of Indian affairs is making special preparations to show the boys the real everyday life of the Indians on the Pine Ridge reservation. They will be given every opportunity to study and observe at first hand all the things that have contributed to the present development of Iowa, South Dakota, Wyoming and Nebraska, and should come back to Clinton with a greater appreciation of the resources of these great central states.

The party will travel in military style. Strict rules and regulations will be observed throughout.

A complete history of the trip will be written up and made available. It is believed that this enterprise will stimulate other communities to do likewise and will result in a general movement to give the growing generation an opportunity to see and learn to know "America First."

BOSTON'S WORTHY PENSION ENDEAVORS

BY PAUL STUDENSKY

New Jersey Bureau of State Research

THE Boston Finance Commission has been engaged during the last few months in a noteworthy endeavor to establish a sound pension system for the employes of Boston. At present, the policemen, teachers, firemen and laborers are the only ones who enjoy pension provisions. The first group is covered by a double system consisting of a non-contributory pension from the city and of an actuarially insolvent annuity fund which is supported by contributions of teachers and which was compelled because of lack of funds to pay smaller annuities than originally promised. The other three groups are covered entirely by non-contributory systems. All these provisions are quite in line with the unsound pension laws which have been placed on the statute books of the various states before realization of the need of scientific procedure in this matter had dawned upon administrators, legislators and employes. In endeavoring to establish a pension system for the employes not now provided for, the commission has, therefore, turned away from these bad precedents and has set to an examination of the best pension accomplishments of various states of recent years.

It framed a bill with the technical assistance of the New Jersey Bureau of State Research, with Mr. George B. Buck acting as actuary, covering all the employes of the city with the following exceptions: (1) present and future teachers; (2) present policemen, firemen and laborers.

The teachers were excluded in view of a division of opinion among them. A large proportion of the teachers led by the high school group presented a petition to the commission in favor of being included, whereas the sentiment of elementary teachers was largely in favor of being excluded and treated separately, if at all. The policemen, firemen and laborers have until the last moment expressed no opinion on the subject. The commission thought

best not to disturb these groups so far as the men now in the service are concerned, except to permit those among them who may wish, to transfer to the new system. It included all future appointees in these departments. Regular retirement was fixed at the age of 60. Ordinary disability to be recognized after ten years of service and accidental disability any time.

The members were to contribute 4 per cent of their salary and were to receive an annuity in accordance with the tables of mortality which were to be prepared for the various occupational groups. The city was to provide a pension of an equivalent amount and make up the contributions on its own account as well as on behalf of the employe for all years of prior service. For cases of ordinary disability the pension part was to be increased to 90 per cent of the amount which would have been provided had the employe continued at the same salary in the service until the age of 60. Liberal accidental disability and accidental death benefits were provided, and the contribution of the employe together with interest at 4 per cent were to be refunded in cases of resignation, dismissal or ordinary death. In accordance with the best precedents various options on retirement were offered. The system was to operate on a full reserve basis with the accrued liabilities to be discharged in the course of 30 years—a feature which distinguishes the system from that of the Massachusetts teachers and state employes in which no reserve is provided for the payment of the pension part of the benefit and the accrued liabilities, and in which the burdens are disproportionately small in the beginning and will be disproportionately large in the future.

The bill (House 1665) was introduced in the legislature and was passed overwhelmingly in the both branches, but according to Mr. Dowling, counsel of the commission, "the police commissioner objected to the inclusion of the police department in the provision of the contributory system and the governor refused to sign the bill with the police so included. The House of Representatives refused to exclude the policemen and the legislature was prorogued before the settlement of the question. The bill, therefore, goes over to the next year's legislature."

The chairman of the commission, Judge Michael Sullivan, is planning to get early under way with the work and is very hopeful that next year will crown the efforts of the commission with success.

CIVIL SERVICE IN THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN

BY HENRY M. WAITE
President, National Municipal League

A GREAT many city managers feel that, as they are not political appointees, they should not be restricted by civil service regulations.

These city managers argue that if they are to run the city's business as an industry, they should not be hampered by regulations that do not occur in industry.

On the other hand, industry is developing more and more along civil service principles. Through shop committees and employment officers, everything is being done to reduce turnover.

Industry is more careful at the present time than in the past in the selection of its employes. If a man does not succeed in one position, he is tried out in others to ascertain where he best fits. An employe of a modern operated shop is not discharged until the employment office is satisfied he will not fit in any place in the organization.

In a well-governed city, where you have co-operation between the civil service commission and the administrative head of the government, the same results are being accomplished. Civil service, properly regulated, fairly enforced, can accomplish many of the things in public work that industry is now attempting.

The public in this country to-day is educated to the use of civil service commissions in public business. They expect fair treatment to be given the city employes and a continuation of office. The public looks to civil service to protect their public affairs from political control and the spoils system.

The civil service rules recommended by the National Municipal League in its model charter, properly handled, furnish the protection the public expects. They also give the city manager all the freedom that he requires for an efficient administration.

The civil service commission should be appointed by, and be responsible to, the city commission or council. This point is arguable. The trend of improvement in city government, however, is all toward providing machinery that will exclude politics in the administration of city affairs.

The theory of the city-manager form of government is that the commission is the elective or political body. The administration of city affairs is to be under the manager and divorced from politics. The prime object is to keep both the commission and the manager from building up a political organization.

If the civil service commission, for example, were under the city manager, there would be too much power in his hands. If the civil service were under the commission and the employment of all employes were also under the commission, there would be too much power in the hands of the commission. By putting the civil service commission under the commission or council, and certifying lists to the city manager, an effective compromise is reached.

The National Municipal League charter allows the city manager to discharge employes, but he must employ them from civil service lists. This is good theory, and it so works out in practice, as it protects the city—as far as it is possible to-day—from either the commission or the manager building up political machines.

The city-manager form of government in operation is carrying out the theories that prompted the manager charters. The city manager is anxious to build up an efficient organization. The manager's success locally depends upon it. Managers around the country are working for a reputation so that they may be called to other cities. The wise manager leans strongly on the civil service commission. He sees that they get the efficiency records. He knows that these records are being used for the advancement of his men. He builds up the confidence of his organization in civil service. He reaps his reward, as does the city.

To make civil service in government a success, there must be a pension system in connection with it.

The theory of civil service is to keep men long in office. If employes are to be kept in office, there must be some fair and just means to take care of them when they are too old to carry on their functions. Again, the analogy between public affairs and industry

holds. Industry, however, is leading government in providing pensions and sick funds.

With the daily increase of city managers throughout the country, there may develop later some procedure that will replace present civil service methods. This, however, will only occur after a long demonstration of the fact that the city manager remains free from political control and can demonstrate that there is some other method that will insure the employment of capable men in public office and keep such men in continuous service.

HOW TO SAVE OUR GOVERNORS FROM RUIN

BY ARCH MANDEL

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

A proposal to make the lieutenant governor deputy to the governor and thus bring relief to that harassed individual for whom Former Governor Smith plead in the May issue. :: :: :: :: :: ::

Ex-Governor Smith of New York deplores the fact, and rightfully so, that governors are ruined by being obliged to attend personally to innumerable and unimportant details of administration.[1] This complaint doubtless strikes a sympathetic chord in the minds of every contemporary and ex-governor in the Union.

The statement that "unfortunately there is no deputy governor" made by Governor Smith in his article on "How We Ruin Our Governors" brings sharply to our attention an absurd tradition in the organization of our states and nation. New York State, and all other states have deputy governors, or lieutenant governors, as they are called, but for all practical purposes they might as well be nonexistent.

PUT THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR TO WORK

In face of the burdens imposed upon governors in the administration of a commonwealth, lieutenant governors are pigeon-holed by being assigned the duties of presiding over senates and gracing public functions with their presence and speeches. Here are officers who could, if profitably employed, be of service to their states by releasing governors for their larger executive duties, and at the same time get things done for the state that governors, under present conditions, can only half do.

Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that all lieutenant governors are potentially governors; that when the occasion arises, and many such occasions have arisen, they must assume the office and duties of governor. Yet there is nothing in the duties performed by lieutenant governors that fits them to be chief executives of commonwealths. In fact, they are less fitted by training for this office than are chairmen of important legislative committees.

It must also be recognized that so long as the office of lieutenant governor carries with it nothing but an empty title, and is a blind alley politically,

[1] See National Municipal Review for May, 1921.

men of capacity and ability, men of large affairs who aspire to public service, will not seek the office nor will they have it thrust upon them.

Many of the ills described by Governor Smith will be corrected by the reorganization of the governmental machinery that tends to throw responsibility for getting things done upon a limited number of department heads of ability. Yet the governor as the executive of the state, responsible for the proper administration of all departments and institutions, must of necessity give some attention to these problems. Even with the help of capable department heads the task of giving personal attention to large problems affecting the welfare of a few million persons and following the administration of state activities is too big for one man.

PLAN RECOMMENDED IN MICHIGAN

Recognizing these facts, Dr. Wm. H. Allen, of the Institute for Public Service, in his report on the reorganization of Michigan's state government, recommended two alternative solutions for "insuring preparedness to assume the duties of a deceased or removed governor while at the same time giving the state better government:

Alternative 1. The lieutenant governorship might be combined with the auditorship in one elective officer, in which case the senate should select its own chairman as the assembly now does.

Alternative 2. The lieutenant governor might be given five more duties beside that of presiding over the senate:

1. Visit every state department and activity at least once a year;
2. Serve as chairman of statutory investigating boards, like the board of corrections and charities, without power to vote except in case of tie;
3. Attend meetings of semi-judicial bodies, like the utilities commission, with power to question witnesses;
4. Review budget estimates;
5. Report to the legislature at the end of each biennium evidence gathered from his studies of forward steps taken, of inefficiency and extravagance observed, and of administrative and legislative changes needed."

Carrying out these recommendations would serve two purposes:

1. It would lighten the burden of the governor, who cannot carry out the duties of his office, no matter how hard working, conscientious and willing he is to do so.
2. It would insure states efficient and capable governors should the men elected to the office resign or die, or become incapacitated.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN SACRAMENTO

BY EDWIN A. COTTRELL
Professor of Political Science, Stanford University

A local politician acknowledged that, whereas he had previously won elections by control of only a thousand votes, it would now take fifteen or twenty thousand dollars extra to manipulate the new system, and then without any guarantee of success. :: :: :: :: ::

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, held a most successful proportional representation election, on May 3, on the introduction of its new charter. "Highly successful" is no exaggeration, for it is the almost unanimous opinion of all who watched the election that in the character of representation on the new council, the machinery of casting and counting the ballots, the attitude of the people and the press, and the qualifications of the mayor and city manager elected by the council, proportional representation was given a fair trial and succeeded and in all that its proponents claimed for it.

The new Sacramento charter provides in brief, for a council of nine members elected all at once on a general ticket for two-year terms. They shall receive a salary of three hundred dollars per annum. This council elects its own presiding officer with the title of Mayor, and appoints a city manager, attorney, police judge, treasurer, clerk and several minor officers. The city manager is the administrative head of the city and appoints his subordinates in the administrative departments. He is appointed without residence qualifications for an indefinite period, but is given twelve months to make a success. He is removable within that time only for illegal acts, and after that time only on the vote of six of the nine members of the council.

In the Sacramento election the candidates represented practically every element or cross section of the city population. Several tickets were in the field. The freeholders, who were responsible for the writing and passing of the new charter, nominated a full ticket including three business men, two labor men, an attorney, a physician, and one business woman representing the women's clubs. The other candidates were an ex-fire chief backed by city employes and politicians, an architect who is a Catholic and representative of the old gang element, several lawyers, merchants, women, a colored minister, a blacksmith, an old politician and extensive landowner, and one ex-city commissioner who is a physician and an advocate of municipal ownership and has had a good but erratic political record. These last candidates were grouped by their friends or by organizations such as the women's clubs, chambers of commerce, American Legion, municipal and state employes, labor organizations, and politicians. The results show that of the freeholders' ticket of nine, four were elected as numbers two, four, five, and seven. The man getting the highest vote was the ex-commissioner, who was favorable to all interests but

not endorsed by the freeholders. The man elected number three was the representative of the old gang element. With this brief explanation of the candidates and a more detailed study of the system in operation, it can be safely said that no one element is to control the new council, and that all elements in the city have representation in its membership. Complete harmony and instantaneous action characterized its first meeting for the election of mayor and city manager.

There were 12,302 valid votes cast for twenty-six candidates in fifty-eight voting precincts. This is the second largest vote case in the last nine elections since the primary of May, 1918. Invalid ballots amounted to 2.4 per cent, which is extremely low for a first election under this system. This was due more to the late introduction of an initiative measure which under the California law must be voted with the rubber stamp while the council ballots must be marked with a pencil. If the blank ballots and those in which the intention of the voter was not clearly shown were counted alone the resulting invalid ballots would amount to only 1.7 per cent. In the Kalamazoo election 4.5 per cent were invalid, and the three Ashtabula elections usually show 10 per cent of the ballots invalidated. The reason for this is that the people do not learn readily to use the preference numbers rather than the cross in voting for their candidates.

The machinery of the central court consisted of a large blackboard upon which is carried the names of the candidates and in column form provision for twenty counts or transfers. Containers arranged in alphabetical order for the precinct envelopes and transferred ballots of each candidate, tally sheets for the precinct count, for each candidate for the transfer count, and the master sheets to check the total transfer count and reproduce the same on the blackboard. Two adding machines were used to check all additions. Rubber stamps carrying the number of the count were provided, so that it was possible to trace the transfer of the ballot through each successive preference choice and transfer. The counting at this election began as soon as the poll clerks had deposited their poll boxes at the central election board office in the council chamber. The poll and transfer count consumed about twenty-three hours, which can be considerably shortened at the next election. The principal delay was caused by the count of the initiative ballots and determining the invalid ballots caused by this double system of marking. The work of the central election board was planned for simplicity rather than speed, and the tally and check clerks did excellent work during their long counting session. For a first experience the time consumed without hurry, confusion or mistake, is to be commended. When it is seen that 69 per cent of the voters elected their first choice candidate, and 85 per cent have representation on the council, and that practically everyone questioned had voted for a majority of those elected, one cannot but conclude that this system is much better and surer than that formerly used in this city and elsewhere. Another way of getting at this result is to say that of the nine highest first choices, eight were finally elected on the transfer count. A subsequent study of the votes shows that in every natural division of the city the five candidates who received the greatest number of first choice votes were among those elected.

The citizens of Sacramento and the press are practically unanimous in commendation of the success of the new system of election, the true repre-

sentation of the council, and the persons elected to be mayor and city manager. Only two voices were raised against the system. Mr. Grove L. Johnson, father of Senator Hiram Johnson, prefers the good old ward system with the good old political parties, but states, "Take it all in all, the new councilmen are a representative body and will give us a good government." Mr. J. H. Devine, the defeated politician and landowner, is endeavoring to get other defeated candidates to test the constitutionality of the provision of the charter which calls for proportional representation. The state supreme court has already decided in *Socialist* vs. *Uhl*, 155 Cal. 788, "that the election of municipal officers is strictly a municipal affair," under a constitutional amendment adopted in 1918. Many of the defeated candidates expressed themselves entirely satisfied with the system, and intend to support it in future elections.

The experience of proportional representation in Sacramento was much more successful than that of the other cities where the system is used. A larger vote was cast, a more satisfactory result was obtained, many improvements in counting were made, and those interested in promoting this system were assured of a widespread interest of other cities in the results of the election. It is interesting to note that several California cities are already proposing the adoption of proportional representation following their favorable study of the Sacramento election.

THE PITTSBURGH MORALS COURT

AN EXPERIMENT IN REGENERATIVE JUSTICE

BY CHARLES W. COLLINS

With only the legal powers of a magistrate, Judge De Wolf has built up an organization of big brothers and sisters to handle his 14,000 cases each year. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

With only the legal basis of a magistrate's court, the Morals Court has within two and a half years become the most interesting institution of Pittsburgh. It is really a big, brave adventure in community service, holding about the same relation to the conventional police court as that which the modern institutional church of our larger cities bears to the rectangular wooden meeting-house of our fathers.

This has come to pass through the social vision and moving force of one citizen, Judge Tensard De Wolf. Fresh from college, twenty-odd years ago, De Wolf came to Pittsburgh to study law, but before his legal studies were finished he turned to journalism. During several years' work as reporter and political writer he gained an intimate knowledge of the multiform life of the city. Then for many years De Wolf was active in municipal affairs as secretary of the Voters' League. Looking back over his career in Pittsburgh one sees that he was serving an apprenticeship, each stage of it fitting him for his distinguished work in the Morals Court.

The court was created to deal with

youthful offenders of all kinds—every person under twenty-one years of age arrested by the police is brought before Judge De Wolf—also those charged with offenses against women and children, and "social" offenders—street-walkers, prostitutes, etc.—as well as all domestic-relations cases.

LITTLE LEGAL POWER

At first Judge De Wolf feared that the court's legal authority, its jurisdiction, was too limited to deal adequately with its problems, and an appeal to the state legislature for extended powers was contemplated. A few weeks of work on the bench convinced the magistrate that the solution of his problems could not be found in legislation. Human life in a large city is a thing of intimate and tangled relationships, of problems at once too intricate and too simple for the application of statute law. As a social worker in the court whimsically asked, "To how many volumes would the Golden Rule run if put into acts of legislature?" Eventually only a few amendments to existing statutes, simplifying procedure and lessening penalties, were demanded. In the majority of cases direct social treatment proved more effective, and when greater powers of corrrection were needed the offenders were passed on to other courts. It is the way this social treatment is achieved that marks the court as an adventure in community service.

Declaring that the grown-up citizens of Pittsburgh were responsible for the waywardness of the four thousand boys brought each year to the Morals Court—that the problems of the court were community problems—Judge De Wolf appealed to the social forces of the city. To churches, welfare organizations, clubs, and citizens at large he preached the gospel of service. The response has justified the preachment. The original personnel of the court is now the directing body, the executive force, of a large staff of skilled social workers, who represent, and are paid by, Pittsburgh's religious and social organizations. The social conscience and energy of the city is mobilized to supplement and complete the regenerative work of the court.

In its larger aspects the Morals Court thus becomes a social and moral hospital, in which the departments (as we may call them) of clinical research, of diagnosis, and of outside relief, are larger than the operating ward—for the work of the surgeon (Judge) is lessened as the court becomes institutionalized.

In round numbers, 14,000 cases appear annually in the court—12,000 brought by the police and the rest by social-working organizations and individuals—and in this round-up there are 4,000 boys. The treatment of these boys illustrates the character and methods of the court.

THE COURT'S PROCEDURE

Soon after their appearance in the chambers, when the evidence of wrongdoing has been presented by police or other prosecutors, the boys are questioned by members of the staff, and whenever the need is indicated the boys' records are "cleared" by telephone appeals to the juvenile court or Associated Charities. Then relatives and friends are sent for. Whenever a case of defective mentality is suspected, the Children's Service Bureau is called upon for a psychological examination. Sometimes a member of the court's staff visits a boy's home and studies his environment before a diagnosis is made. After all the information is at hand and the diagnosis is

complete, the "case" is presented to the magistrate for judgment. A few incorrigible boys are held for trial in the criminal court or certified to the juvenile court; a few others are sent directly to reform schools or "homes"; another small contingent are returned to their homes, after parents or guardians have been advised or reproved; the larger number are placed in charge of agencies for "follow-up" work under the supervision of Big Brothers. Among these agencies are the Jewish Big Brothers, the Catholic Big Brothers, the Y. M. C. A., the Urban League (colored), and the staffs of several settlement houses. Not only must the Big Brothers report regularly, but the court's staff continues its supervision to make sure that the right brother is found for each boy; if one fails he is promptly replaced.

Girls brought to the court are treated by similar methods, but their cases are generally more difficult. As a rule they have fewer interests through which the worker can appeal, and, unfortunately, they are usually charged with graver offenses. The saving detail is that a relatively small number of girls appear in court.

To adult offenders like treatment is accorded; that is, thorough investigations and diagnoses are made whenever the need is indicated.

Perhaps the most marked innovation of the Morals Court is its treatment of the social evil. Digging up an obscure statute to justify the procedure, Judge De Wolf arranged with the state health department to "quarantine" prostitutes and casual street-walkers. This treatment is both remedial and prophylactic. Under skilled medical care and regenerative influences many unfortunate girls and women are restored to physical and moral health.

Another innovation, as has been suggested, is in the degree to which the work of the court is specialized. Nearly all of the other social-purpose courts have achieved distinction through the personalities of their magistrates; in them justice becomes a personal equation. While personality is not lacking in the Pittsburgh court, Judge De Wolf's methods are those of an executive; he supervises a trained staff to whom is delegated the larger part of the court's work. In no other way, he believes, could the court's "business" be efficiently managed. Moreover, this plan makes it possible for the magistrate to give much time to work which he thinks of greater importance, even, than the daily administration of justice.

FEW REPEATERS

One of the surprises of the court is the small number of repeaters; thanks to efficient follow-up work, few youthful offenders are brought before the magistrate more than once. Yet the disheartening procession keeps up. Why? What are the causes producing every year in Pittsburgh nearly four thousand young criminals, actual or potential? Almost from the beginning Judge De Wolf has regarded the court as a laboratory in which to discover and study the causes for youthful delinquency. Superficial causes were easily found, and the judge and his associates had not been at work long before fundamentals began to appear. It may be said that this laboratory work has been done before—that any experienced sociologist can recite the causes of crime and human degeneracy. But a like investigation has not been made before in Pittsburgh. Concrete proofs of conditions in this city are quite unlike sociological abstractions regarding municipal affairs in the country at large; contact with the slums of Pitts-

burgh, for instance, produces a reaction not brought by text-book statements of human misery.

Fundamental causes of crime revealed in the court are: widespread and growing slum districts (essentially problems of housing and transportation), lack of playgrounds for children, insufficient vocational guidance, prostitution, venereal disease, and large numbers of unrestrained persons of defective mentality.

The fact that more than half of the children of the city are badly housed and conditioned comes as a shocking surprise to thinking men and women of the community. For fifty thousand children city streets and alleys are the only playgrounds accessible. One characteristic is almost invariable in the cases of children of working age (16 to 21) brought into the court—they have no steady employment—each tells a story of short-time jobs. Through lack of effective vocational guidance and placement, these children are economic failures before they attain citizenship. Of the horrors of prostitution, the ravages of venereal disease, and the folly of allowing feeble-minded persons to reproduce their kind, it is needless to speak.

PITTSBURGH SAFE FOR CHILDHOOD

To a man of De Wolf's active and creative mind it was impossible to face these conditions without devising means for their improvement. To make Pittsburgh safe for childhood—this is now the chief concern of the Morals Court magistrate and his staff. Just as he institutionalized his court and made it powerful through appeals to the conscience of the community, De Wolf now calls on the enlightened elements of the city to formulate and put into operation a social program for Pittsburgh. He has already addressed nearly all of the ministerial and ecclesiastical bodies of the city, laying bare the conditions that threaten to destroy the community and offering remedies. Special committees have been appointed by practically all of these organizations to co-operate in drawing up a program for permanent relief. "The Church has assumed the responsibility not merely as a service to the community, but as one of the fundamental reasons for its existence."

Justifying his appeal to the churches, De Wolf says:

> "We are tapping reservoirs of social energy. No other agencies can reach so quickly and with such authority into every home, especially those of the foreign-born (one-fourth of Pittsburgh's population). This has been demonstrated. Only last week one church organization through a single contact in the court reached at least thirty young men in their homes and corrected a serious condition that neither the court nor the police could have touched. When all the clergymen in the city have come to understand its social needs, a regenerative social program is fully outlined, they will carry conviction to their congregations. These congregations comprise a large majority of the citizens of Pittsburgh. With this majority enlightened, public officers, city, county and state, *must* join in carrying out the program."

Utopian? Perhaps. Yet in the light of the reaction on the men and women who have already helped the court, a successful outcome seems not impossible. More than a year ago a trained observer, who came from Washington to study the court, said: "The Morals Court set out to rehabilitate the unfortunate boys of the city and finds that it is regenerating the whole city and inaugurating a method of instilling a social consciousness and a social conscience."

SAN FRANCISCO MUNICIPAL RAILWAYS FROM TWO VIEWPOINTS

I. MUNICIPAL OPERATION AN UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS

BY M. M. O'SHAUGHNESSY

City Engineer of San Francisco

A DELEGATION of Chicago aldermen, accompanied by their engineers, recently spent three days examining the municipal railway system of San Francisco. In the words of Major R. F. Kelker, Jr., engineer for the city of Chicago, "We have come to your city and been convinced that it stands unique among the cities of this country in the operation of its street car lines."

The municipal railways of San Francisco have been constructed under the terms of the charter framed in 1900, under which San Francisco is governed, which declared the policy of public ownership of all earning utilities. San Francisco at this time was served by about seven individual private street railway corporations, and much criticism was aroused by their methods of obtaining franchises.

San Francisco is very hilly, and most of those lines were of cable construction. There was a gradual change from cable to trolley on the more level streets of the city. In 1906 the fire and earthquake caused the destruction of nearly all the routes, most of which had been acquired by the United Railroads Company, and were converted into trolley systems, so that that company now controls 244 miles of single track street railway system. On 150 miles of this trackage franchises expire in 1929, and the remaining lines expire inside of thirty years. There is, besides, a cable railway of 11½ miles owned by the California Street Cable Railway Company, which climbs over hills exceeding 20 per cent grades.

MUNICIPAL RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION

The first bonds of $2,020,000 were voted in December, 1909, for the building of trolley line over the Geary Street cable route, the franchise for which had expired. This was placed in operation on the 28th of December, 1912, from Market Street to Golden Gate Park. It was subsequently connected with the Ocean Beach south of Sutro Heights and with the outer tracks on Market Street to the Ferry. Over 70,000 commuters who work in San Francisco live in the suburbs of Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda and Marin County, and naturally our car system gets additional patronage from the actual population of non-commuters.

At the end of 1913 the city had 15 miles of municipal single track; at the end of 1914, 39 miles; 1915–16, 42 miles; at the end of 1917, 48 miles; at the end of 1918, 58 miles; and at the present time we have 63 miles of single track. The additional trackage in 1914–15 was due to the World's Exposition held in San Francisco in 1915.

The topography of San Francisco is very rough, covering an area of approximately six miles wide by seven miles long. Some of the hills, such as Twin Peaks, climb to a height of 900 feet. By means of a benefit assessment, a tunnel costing $4,000,000, two

and one-third miles long, was built under the Twin Peaks hill, bringing in 3,000 acres of land available for residences west and southwest of the portal. Another tunnel was built through the Stockton Street hill, about one-quarter of a mile long, which is 50 feet in the clear, furnishing room for double street car tracks, vehicles, and two sidewalks, at a cost of about $600,000. Extensions of the municipal railways have been carried through those tunnels.

EQUIPMENT AND POWER

The city has adopted 106 pound rail on a concrete base, and underground ducts for carrying the electricity, also concrete poles for spanwires; on Van Ness Avenue ornamental concrete poles have been used.

The first 43 cars were of the Chicago type, eight feet six inches wide, and manufactured locally. The next 125 cars were nine feet two inches wide, and from engineering studies the weight was reduced from 25 tons to 24 tons, while the carrying capacity was increased by 20, and the cost reduced $1,000 per car.

Two concrete and steel car barns have been built in different sections of the city, each capable of housing 525 cars, while concrete partitions have divided it into compartments, so that in case of a conflagration the whole barn will not be destroyed.

Electricity is purchased from a private corporation, The Pacific Gas & Electric Company, at a cost of about one cent per kilowatt hour for direct current. Powerhouse sites have been acquired for auxiliary steam plant, but as the supply of current is uninterrupted it has never been found necessary to install stand-by equipment.

The city is engaged on the construction of the Hetch Hetchy Project in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, which will ultimately develop over 200,000 hydro-electric horsepower. It is hoped to have a 50,000 horsepower unit completed in three years, when the city will have an ample supply of hydro power not only for driving municipal street cars, but for lighting the city streets.

Negotiations have been conducted by the city with the object in view of acquiring all the privately owned street car tracks in San Francisco. The United Railroads has refinanced its holdings and reduced its capitalization from $92,000,000 down to $45,000,000. The citizens are committed to acquiring this property at a fair valuation, and it is hoped at an early date to make some arrangement by which the private rights can be acquired and paid for out of the net earnings.

FINANCES

The money voted by the people to date, for the construction of the municipal railway system, is as follows:

July, 1910, Bonds carrying 4½ per cent interest, all of which will be redeemed by 1934	$2,020,000.00
December 1, 1913, Bonds carrying 5 per cent interest, all of which will be redeemed in 1952, when we will own the roads, entirely free of debt of any kind	3,500,000.00
During the period of construction and previous to December 28, 1912, when the roads were placed in operation, there was received from general taxes	306,552.47
Which makes the total cost to the taxpayers of San Francisco for the system	$5,826,552.47
Deducting the $899,300 paid for maturing bonds, this leaves an outstanding cost to-day of	$4,927,252.47

Net earnings have been as follows:

The total revenue received from the railway for the eight years previous to December 31, 1920, has been	$15,078,490.49
The operating expenditures for the same period have been	9,561,758.63
Leaving net earnings, exclusive of taxes and depreciation	$5,516,731.86

This revenue has been distributed to the several accounts in the following manner:

Interest on outstanding bonds	$1,642,322.03
Redemption of maturing bonds	899,300.00
Extension and betterments	1,188,150.20
Depreciation	1,266,832.01
Compensation insurance	156,628.69
Materials and supplies	150,578.72
Advanced to Twin Peaks Tunnel	82,152.53
Accidents, damages, etc.	130,767.68
Total	$5,516,731.86

PHYSICAL CONDITION

Besides building two steel and concrete car barns, the city has extended the original 45 miles of track called for in the bond issue by 18 miles, so that to-day we have 63 miles of first-class operating trackage, exclusive of 4 miles in car barns, sidings, etc.

At a low estimate the 63 miles of trackage to-day, including equipment, etc., is worth $8,000,000, and it is a self-sustaining utility, in which all citizens take pride, bringing in at the present time a yearly income of about $2,800,000.

ACCOUNTS CHARGED FOR TAXES

Under section 16, Article XII of the charter, it is incumbent on the city officials to keep a separate account of each utility and maintain a special fund for same, which may be used for the following purposes: Operating expenses, repairs and reconstruction, interest on outstanding bonds, and amounts necessary for redemption of same as they come due; for extensions and improvements and for reserve; in addition, for comparative purposes, it is required that the accounts should show not only the above items, but also a fictitious charge of 3 per cent of gross receipts for municipal taxes and $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of gross receipts for state taxes, which private corporations are compelled to pay. If this money had been actually paid from the date of operation of the system, approximately $1,000,000 would have been deducted from the city's net showing as displayed in the above accounts.

About ten years ago the laws of California relating to taxation were amended, so that public service corporations are no longer taxed by the local county officers. Instead of this arrangement they pay into the state annually a percentage of the gross receipts which varies with the different kinds of corporations. At the present time this percentage is $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for street railways.

HIGH-GRADE SERVICE

The citizens of San Francisco are particularly proud of the clean cars and high-grade service of the municipal system. The city officials who were identified with the construction of this utility, and who now operate it, have reason to feel pleased with the good work that has been accomplished, in giving first-class service on a five-cent fare, and besides paying gradually for the initial investment on the property. The fact that "San Francisco Knows How" in this business is convincing from the recent pilgrimage of the City Fathers of Chicago, who are struggling with the exactions of a private corporation which charges eight cents on their

surface lines and ten cents on the elevated, and gives dirty cars and crowded service.

San Francisco's municipal railway undertaking has encountered severe opposition from public service corporations and interested critics who do not believe in the capacity of an American municipality to administer such a property. All our American cities are considered capable of handling water utilities, which are relatively simple compared to the intricate problems and great number of employes connected with a street railway. Our municipal undertaking has been administered with great prudence, 14 per cent of the gross earnings being set aside in a depreciation fund, and 4 per cent of gross for accidents and damages. Due to the first-class equipment and careful administration, the accidents and damages have not amounted to more than one and one-fourth per cent so far, so that considerable reserve has accumulated. Numerous demands have been made, however, for extensions in undeveloped portions of the city, which would be operated at a loss. To meet some of those most pressing demands and defer heavier outlay, two motor bus lines have been run from the outer extensions of the system. Those bus lines are run at a loss, but are a smaller loss than that created by car lines. Wages of car men were $3 for eight hours on the commencement of operations. Those wages have been gradually increased until they are now getting $5 for eight hours. Car men have been making demands for higher wages, but those demands have been resisted as an improper charge by the city officials.

The future success of municipal railways in our American cities will depend on conservative conduct on behalf of the municipal railway employes and prudent, non-political administration by the municipal officials entrusted with the responsibility. The great American public is grinding between the upper and nether millstones,—corporate greed, watered stock and high financing on one side, change of political administration, incompetent management, and improper demands of employes on the other. I believe our cities are, however, in a state of evolution, and I can see no reason why intelligent American cities having accomplished great things in other fields cannot do as well as the city of Glasgow and other European cities in handling their municipal railway problems.

II. UNIQUE FAVORS ENJOYED BY MUNICIPAL LINES

BY JOSEPHINE HOYT

Bureau of Public Administration, University of California

San Francisco has demonstrated that the officials of a municipality can appoint officers capable of constructing and managing a street railroad, which is particularly significant in view of the notorious past of city politics in that city; and that these officers can build and operate both economically and efficiently a system of 67.12 miles of single track.

FAVORABLE LOCATION OF MUNICIPAL LINES

This phenomenal success may be at least partly accounted for by several facts, the lack of non-paying roads into outlying districts, the gradual process by which the venture was started, and its exemption from certain taxes and other charges. The San Francisco

charter requires the municipal railway to make charges to operations for insurance and taxes, although no insurance is carried nor taxes paid, and also requires it to make other charges as for legal aid and clerical help, actually afforded it by other city departments without cost. There are, of course, other costs, little used by a public corporation, such as advertising, which cannot be estimated. Neither is there need for money for campaign contributions. The financial statement of the municipal railway does include all legitimate expenses possible to estimate. And so, while required to set forth these amounts as if they had been paid, the city actually has these additional funds in its treasury. For 1920 they amounted to $226,535.

Far more important, however, is the advantage which the municipal railway derives from the manner of its birth and gradual growth. A single line was taken over by the city after its franchise had expired. The road was a cable system, long obsolete, and a little over a million dollars was required to equip this original line as an overhead trolley. It was, however, a paying line, due to its location. One by one, other profitable, centrally located lines were added as their franchises expired, and some additions to these were also made. During the first few years of its life expenses were low, for it had really not yet begun to have maintenance expenses. The balance sheets showed profits, even including the obligatory charter reserves and comparison charges. Since the war, the increased expenses of operation together with recent extensions have somewhat depleted the accumulated profit, so that the financial statement for 1920, inclusive of the obligatory charges and reserves, shows a fictitious loss of $237,797, and an actual loss of $11,266. This loss is taken care of by past profits, even though extensions and additions have been made from earnings. The municipal railway has grown up under the most advantageous circumstances.

NON-PAYING EXTENSIONS DEMANDED

Now, however, it has reached a crisis in its life. The people are asking why such a successful enterprise need have such a limited sphere of action, for the truth is, that the municipal railway, in all its 67 miles of single track, has no real outlying lines, with the exception of two busses, admittedly run at a loss, and certain non-paying extensions of paying lines. Undeveloped areas are not profitable for street railways. This lack of non-paying roads is largely responsible for the financial success of the undertaking. The municipal line's competitor, the Market Street Railway (formerly called the United Railroads), having a total of 224 miles of single track, serves many such districts; indeed, 40 per cent of its lines earn less than $2 per car hour. One earns $1.32, several less than $1, and one particular line $0.14 per car hour. Yet it costs at least $2 per car hour to operate such lines. Many of the municipal lines earn $4 per car hour, and its total passenger revenue per mile of track exceeds that of any other road in the United States operating on a five-cent fare, except one, the Brooklyn City Railway. It would seem that this larger earning capacity of the municipal lines is not wholly due to better management, but rather to a happy selection of profitable lines permitting undeveloped districts to be served largely by its competitor.

In the experimental stage this cautious procedure is praiseworthy, but it cannot be pursued by a city that maintains a complete system of street railways. And the reason is obvious.

Rapid growth demands the opening of new areas. If the city of San Francisco takes over the privately owned lines, which event is deemed inevitable, extensions and additions must be made. The people want municipal ownership, not because it is profitable, but because it gives promise of better service.

In analyzing the results of any municipal ownership undertaking, the investigator must ask himself these questions: Is it giving efficient service? Second, is it a financial success, by which we mean not a money-making proposition, but a well-managed enterprise financially, giving value for the money expended? Third, has it other decided advantages, such as the facility for opening up new regions, which may compensate for the lack of profit or even loss involved? These conditions the San Francisco Municipal Railway fulfills or gives promise of fulfilling. Better service and excellent management have been secured. A beginning has been made in the third requisite, in the construction of the Stockton Street and Twin Peaks Tunnels. The municipal railway points the way to the possibility of further extensions which a private company could not afford. These the municipality demands and can supply, because its policy is not guided solely by balance sheets in determining the success attained, but rather by the measure of utility to the city.

RECREATION—A PART OF THE CITY'S JOB

BY GENEVIEVE FOX
Community Service, Inc.

SINCE January first, 1919, more than $15,000,000 in bond issues has been voted for recreation by cities in the United States, according to reports received by the Playground and Recreation Association of America. The city of Chicago considered recreation of sufficient importance to justify an expenditure of $1,000,000 last year. Detroit spent $350,420, maintaining one hundred forty-four recreation centers under paid leadership.

Flint, Michigan, considered a place for people to swim so necessary to the city's welfare that it constructed two new swimming tanks during 1920 at a cost of $65,000 each, and is planning to add at least one more during 1921. And Hartford, Connecticut, decided that it was worth more than $30,000 to have a well-lighted, adequately supervised outdoor dance pavilion.

Out on the iron range of northern Minnesota, the people of Ely, a city of 5,000, demonstrated that they believed in city-wide recreation by appropriating $7,500 last year. Ely began to take play seriously during the war when it converted an old schoolhouse into a community service center. When war money dwindled and war excitement died down, there were not lacking those who felt that a community center and a city appropriation for recreation were a "foolish waste of money." About that time the councilmen began to receive visits—visits from every man and woman in the town who believed that Ely should continue to take play seriously. The result was a landslide for recreation.

Ten years ago cities thought of recreation in terms of simply setting aside a playground or two for the children. To-day, when you ask a superintendent of recreation what his department is doing, he may talk about a new playground that has been opened for the children, but he is quite as likely to talk about a golf course, or a series of

Courtesy of Community Service

ALL AGES PARTICIPATE IN THE ENJOYMENT OF HARTFORD'S OUTDOOR DANCE PLATFORM

Courtesy of Community Service

OAKLAND'S MUNICIPAL CAMP HAS A REAL SWIMMING HOLE AND AN ABUNDANCE OF SCENIC BEAUTY

outdoor concerts, or pageants or baseball leagues, or a dance hall.

TENNIS, GOLF, BOATING, GARDENING

The fourteen hundred acres of parks and playgrounds in Hartford, Connecticut, offer entertainment for every member of the family. There are tennis and golf, baseball, bowling on the green, boating on the lake in summer and skating and hockey in the winter. There is dancing six afternoons and evenings a week on the big outdoor dance platform. On Sunday evenings the dance platform is turned into a concert hall seating 3,000, and band concerts are given every week through the summer. On these occasions not only is the seating capacity exhausted, but the grassy hillsides round about are black with people.

For the hikers, a walking group has been organized under the leadership of nature guides. This has become so large that two detachments are necessary, three hundred or more often turning out for a Saturday afternoon walk.

The amateur gardening enthusiast who has no back yard of his own is provided with plenty of room for a vegetable garden and plenty of information as to how to make his crops grow. In fact, this phase of recreation is so popular that a special food commission has been created to take care of it. Those who want less energetic recreation may just picnic in one of the woodsy picnic grounds that are provided with outdoor fireplaces and with shacks and indoor fireplaces for bad weather.

Even the babies and toddlers have a playground all their own where the equipment is especially adapted to their size and their degree of daring. For little girls who love to play house

there are little red-roofed playhouses that little sister can reserve for an hour's play just as big sister reserves her tennis court.

AN ELDERLY FOLKS ASSOCIATION

It is a safe guess that no other city in the country except Hartford has an Elderly Folks Association. One Fourth of July a few years ago, it occurred to the superintendent of recreation that the older people might like to have a little celebration of their own, in some place that was out of earshot of firecrackers and brass bands. The result was so successful that the old people of the city decided that they would organize a permanent association for those who like sociability and good times as well as ever, even though their idea of a good time is somewhat different from that of their children and grandchildren.

One of the recreation centers of Philadelphia has a "Jury"—a club made up of former chronic bench sitters ranging in age from sixty-nine to eighty-six. These men who used to just sit around the park and look on at the activities of the center are now ever-present participants in all fêtes and celebrations. Quoit pitching is their favorite amusement in summer, and in winter they become a chess and checker club. The president of the "Jury" is the official Santa Claus for the Christmas tree at the recreation center. He has the advantage of requiring no make-up for the part.

The people of Oakland, California, have a piece of the Sierras which is ex-

Courtesy of Community Service

MANY VARIETIES OF PLAY ARE PROVIDED IN THIS PHILADELPHIA PLAYGROUND

clusively their own. There they sleep under tall pine trees and go swimming in nature-made swimming pools and fish in mountain streams. The United States Forest Service has turned this bit of real outdoors over to Oakland for a municipal camp, and the Recreation Commission is providing floored tents, electrically lighted, food and all facilities for comfortable camp life. For the city's camp on Lake Elizabeth, nearly a thousand children and a hundred adults had a chance to enjoy outdoor life last summer. An especially interesting activity last winter in Detroit was the "Homeland's Exhibit" of Polish, Italian, French, Greek, Czecho-Slovak, Armenian and American Colonial handiwork.

The Recreation Commission of Paterson, New Jersey, feels a definite responsibility for providing recreation for the thousands of men and women, and girls and boys who are employed in the city's silk mills. That is why there is so much play activity in Paterson at noon hours and from closing time until dark. Baseball is, of course, one of the most popular activities. The Industrial Baseball League is made up of twenty-six teams, eight in the silk dyeing league, eight in the silk manufacturing league, and ten in the general manufacturing league. A public school

Courtesy of Community Service

At Certain Hours This Village of Playhouses in A Hartford Park Is Busy with Small Mothers and Housekeepers

this you pay $6 a week if you are an adult, and $5 a week if you are a child. The hikes and saddle trips that can be made through the Sierras from this camp are almost unlimited, and beside, there is plenty to do if you stay right in the camp with swimming and fishing and walking and every kind of game on the big athletic field.

Detroit's aquatic day brought together last year all clubs and organizations interested in water sports from Lake St. Clair to Lake Erie on both Canadian and American shores. At

league, organized last year by the board of recreation, has aroused keen interest among children, teachers and adults in securing more space, both indoors and outdoors where the children can play. Just now, at the request of the sheriff, the board is turning its attention to the inmates of the city jail and plans are under way for providing recreation for them.

RESULTS

An active superintendent of recreation has to do with almost every phase of the city's life. He is first lieutenant to the superintendent of schools, to the public health officer, to the chief of police, and to the judge of the juvenile court, for his job begins where the jobs of educators, health officers, policemen and judges leave off. Through his staff of recreation directors, he can supplement the play that is started in the school and in the school yard. In the same way he can bring a chance for the right kind of exercise to the boy or girl whom the school physical examination showed to be under par, and he can provide a well-supervised dance hall for the young person whose desire for a good time has led to a rather bad time in the juvenile court.

The superintendent of municipal recreation, though he has plenty of uphill sledding, does see results. He sees them in the health, in the deportment and in the team spirit of the school children. He sees young people leaving amusement resorts of questionable reputation and overtaxing the facilities of strictly regulated amusement places provided by the city. He sees the street loafer of the town become the crack pitcher on a baseball team, or captain of a rowing crew. He sees stagnant civic life change into a clear flowing current purified of the poisons accumulated through inaction. Is play a luxury that only rich cities can afford? Just ask any experienced superintendent of city recreation and see what he tells you.

LESSONS FROM GOVERNMENT EXPERIENCE IN HOUSING[1]

BY HARLEAN JAMES
Secretary, American Civic Association

The government's experience as builder and landlord was justified only by war. The department of agriculture, which is confined to the collection and dissemination of information, forms a better precedent for the government's activities in housing. :: :: :: ::

ALL of the lessons learned from the experience of the government in building houses for industrial and clerical workers were not new. Perhaps none of the lessons were new. To many the experience was more in the nature of what might have been expected.

[1]An address before the sections on industrial and economic problems and on local community of the National Conference on Social Work.

Because of the reluctance of our citizens to see the government embark in business and because of the further delay in securing congressional action it was not until March of 1918, almost a year after the United States entered the war, that the shipping board was authorized to spend money for housing purposes, and not until July of 1918, after we had been at war nearly sixteen

months and less than four months before the signing of the armistice, that the United States Housing Corporation was permitted to disburse funds. For this reason the demonstration was less effective and useful than if houses had been built and occupied during the war work.

By the time that the government entered the field it had become apparent that only quantity production of houses would make any impression on the housing shortage in war industrial communities. The original estimates of time required for planning, ordering and erecting the various classes of housing had to be revised. In 1918, with nearly all of the available supply of skilled labor already in war service, with the dependable supplies of material familiar to architects cut off, with transportation demoralized, with authority to commandeer shipments scattered in a hundred hands, it is not to be wondered that the armistice found the shipping board and the Housing Corporation in the early throes of quantity production.

In short, because the government only undertook housing after it had become absolutely impossible for private enterprise, except for a very unreliable and sometimes conflicting authority to secure materials, shipments and labor, it had no advantage over private enterprise. It must pay the same prices, it must deal with the same quality of labor, it was subject to the same delays and hardships. Indeed the men who became government officials and bore the responsibility of incurring the bills were often appalled at the mounting prices which made the estimates of last week inaccurate and those of last month absolutely worthless. If it had not been for the fact that post-war prices from November of 1918 to July of 1920 continued to rise to a point not reached during the war, which made replacement values of the few houses completed after the signing of the armistice much more than the amount actually expended, the cost of producing these houses would have seemed a scandal to those who knew only pre-war conditions. The government, therefore, was not in a position to make any demonstration in the way of low-cost production of houses.

WHAT WAS ACCOMPLISHED

The United States Housing Company, which had in hand on November 11, 1918, housing for 21,000 families at an estimated cost of nearly $150,000,000 and for nearly 25,000 single men and women at an estimated cost of nearly $120,000,000, only completed housing for about 6,000 families and accommodations for about 8,000 single workers. Some of the dormitories completed were never occupied, and others but a short time before peace did away with their need. The housing program of the shipping board was reduced in like manner at the signing of the armistice.

We now ask ourselves what was accomplished by the building of these government houses, few of which were actually occupied during the war. Undoubtedly many a man was kept on the job because he saw visible evidence that he would be provided for, even though he might be sleeping in shifts in a bed occupied by others while he worked and took his recreation. But this service was psychological and ended with the war.

Counting the lessons learned which hold over into peace times it may be said that the permanent houses were, on the whole, a good example in the neighborhoods where they were built. The government housing, even in its by-product for peace, cannot be said to be wasted effort.

But when we scan the whole field of the present housing shortage, when we analyze its causes and recommend remedies, what shall we say of the future? How can the government be effective in the present situation? Shall we follow the example of England and involve our government in an expenditure for housing which Mr. Thomas Adams has estimated will reach a net loss of $100,000,000 each year for the next sixty years in order to provide less than half the houses we need now? Shall we subsidize the builders and occupants of cottages by a general tax in a time when high taxation is automatically limiting production of houses?

If we believe the policy of subsidizing tenants, home owners and builders to be ineffective and wrong in principle, shall we drift with the tide and allow the housing shortage to multiply social iniquities until finally, in a frenzy of building, we hastily erect thousands of inadequate houses, illy planned, poorly constructed, designed definitely to lower the standard of living already achieved? Or shall we recognize squarely that the government has had a hand in producing the housing shortage and should, therefore, take a hand in ending it?

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESENT CONDITIONS

While much of the decline in home building in the years before we entered the war may be traced to increased costs due to expanding opportunities for export of commodities, the present deadlock has been due in large part to governmental interference with the established channels of investment. From the time when government bonds were made exempt from tax and the federal income tax on mortagages was set at war levels the flow of money into building enterprises has been obstructed. During the war, of course, all building not for war production was first discouraged and then forbidden. The embargo on the manufacture of many articles used in construction of houses limited building supplies, and in many instances our post-war troubles with transportation, coal and labor have led manufacturers to await a more propitious time to resume operations on a pre-war scale.

For the dislocation of credit and the new channels of investment, for the interruption of physical production of building supplies and for the arbitrary transfer of labor, the government has been primarily responsible. However justified we may believe the government to have been in its past action, the government may rightly be held to the responsibility of correcting the deplorable situation which it has helped to create.

The problem then resolves itself into a query as to how the government can accomplish this result. Most of us agree that there is no quick cure-all for the housing shortage. Most of us agree that government subsidy is no cure at all. Some disappointment has been voiced by the press and by hopeful citizens over the housing recommendations of the Calder select committee on reconstruction and production, but I venture to say that most of the criticism has come from those who scanned the pages of the report, which appeared in March of 1921, looking for something new, drastic and immediate. Those who labor in the social field know that only by sound, well-considered policies, applied over a long period of time can extensive social and economic advance be effected. Twentieth-century housing standards, as various and unsatisfactory as they are, mark a great improvement on what existed before.

They were only acquired at the cost of years of unremitting effort on the part of the pioneers in the field of housing reform.

If we are not to subsidize wage earners we must find a way to produce houses with decent living arrangements at a price which wage earners can pay. Standard of living is inextricably tied up with the pay envelop.

WASTES TO BE ELIMINATED

Let us take first the wastes which could be eliminated in house building.

The war experience in building houses only demonstrated what many housing specialists have known, that there is no standardization of parts. Even in the small house electric connections are often not interchangeable; in fact, floor and socket connections seldom interchange with ceiling and wall fixtures, and that housewife is fortunate whose coffee urn, toaster and smoothing iron can be used at will in any house connection. There are said to be something like 22,000 items of house hardware advertised in the catalogs, and many of these are changed from year to year. A broken door knob, lock or hinge, after a few years, is quite often found to be "a discontinued pattern." If electric supplies, hardware and mill parts were sufficiently standardized to make it possible to buy a house, like a Ford car, manufactured by the thousand, costs could be greatly reduced, without the least necessity of making the houses all look alike. If we built our Ford cars as we do our houses we should be paying Packard prices for the plainest kind of a car. Savings could be effected through standardization of parts.

Building codes often require unnecessary expense. In Skedunk foundations for certain kinds of houses may be required by law to be twice as thick and twice as expensive as in Podunk, and yet the requirements in Podunk may be quite adequate. Building codes at present are seldom scientific; but practically all the items covered in such laws could be determined by such experiments as are carried on in the bureau of standards. Saving could be effected through determination and adoption of scientific building codes.

Economic construction is under a handicap because of the complicated and unwieldy machinery for determining fire insurance rates and regulations. The insurance companies unite in general inspection companies for territorial districts. These inspection companies have combined into unions, the Eastern and the Western. An underwriters' laboratory for testing building materials is maintained in Chicago but no inspection company is obliged to accept the decision or recommendations of this laboratory. There is, consequently, a great diversity in types of building and building materials acceptable under the various jurisdictions. Apparently decisions in many districts are still made on the basis of *personal* judgment of the executive officer in that district and as these general inspection companies are maintained by the insurance companies themselves there is no appeal from their decisions on the part of the public. Waste, due to use of antiquated methods and materials acceptable to fire insurance companies when modern inventions and processes might be used if the companies would permit, would be eliminated.

Those who have built homes in what promised to be a charming neighborhood and suffered discomfort if they remained and financial loss if they sold because of the building of a tall apartment house, set on the street line, or the advent of a tombstone cutter, a Chinese laundry or a noisy public

garage in their block, are able to appreciate the protection to home and investment offered by sensible zoning laws. Those who have paid taxes on unnecessarily deep lots, or paved unnecessarily wide streets, will appreciate the saving to be effected in town planning. Those who have suffered from lack of sufficient light and air because of the misdeeds of their landlords or their neighbors will appreciate the protection from proper housing laws. Saving could certainly be effected through zoning, town-planning and housing regulations.

Economic studies to determine the relation of fuel and transportation to housing costs would perhaps lead to intelligent recommendations for minimizing this element of cost. There is much information which could be made available concerning labor and prices of material at the mill, wholesale and retail. Information of this nature would be pretty sure to lead to saving in costs.

GOVERNMENT A POOR LANDLORD

So much for the building of homes. With all the vexations, delays and difficulties, the government experienced fewer complications in building its houses than in operating them, whether as landlord or large mortgage holder seeking to protect its equity and bearing the responsibility of collecting installments on the purchase price. The difficulties of construction are forgotten as soon as the houses are completed, but the difficulties of operation continue so long as the house stands.

In its relation of landlord the government found even more complications than a private landlord. Tenants almost invariably expected more from the government than they would from private individuals. Many believed that there had been an enormous private profit which the government could immediately eliminate. In some cases, tenants felt less responsible to the government, probably due to the same psychology that prompts a person, who would deal quite honestly with another individual, to justify himself when he treats the property of a corporation carelessly. When, as in the case of the government hotels, the tenants were also employes of the government, the landlord and tenant relationship was further complicated by the employer and employe relationship. The government hotels can only be justified as a war measure and as a demonstration that the essentials of healthful housing, including a hearty, balanced diet, contribute to efficiency as well as human happiness.

A good start on the methods of management in the case of the houses sold to citizens was made, and it has been thought by some that further experiments in co-operative management or other new forms might be useful to the country. The whole field of management of housing is yet in its infancy. Much remains to be done.

PROPER GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

The possibilites of contributions to the housing problem must be recognized by those who have analyzed the situation. It is proposed by the Calder-Tinkham bill (S. 1152—H. R. 5227) to establish in the department of commerce a division to secure and make public the best information of experts on each of these problems in order that builders may be in a position to construct houses more cheaply, that home owners may know how they may protect their investments and that tenants may acquire standards by which to measure their rentals and their accommodations. No one will deny that the department of agricul-

ture, by just these methods, has been able to make the business of farming of infinitely greater benefit to the farmers and to the consuming public. There is no more reason for the government to enter the housing business, as a competitor with private enterprises, than for it to enter the farming business. The service which the Federal government can give, with reasonable certainty of producing beneficial results, is one of research, experiment and distribution of valuable information. This is just what the department of commerce proposes to do.

Congress in the recent deficiency bill transferred $250,000 from the Bureau of the Census to the Bureau of Standards in the department of Commerce. $50,000 of this may be used for continuation of investigations of structural materials and for the collection and dissemination of scientific, practical and statistical information concerning housing; $100,000 for investigations to assist new industries; and $100,000 to co-operate with government departments, engineers and manufacturers in the establishment of standards, methods of testing, and inspection of instruments, equipment, and electrical and mechanical devices.

The Calder-Tinkham bill would create a permanent division "to collect, classify, arrange, and disseminate such scientific, technical, practical, and statistical information as may be procured or developed by research or otherwise, showing or tending to show approved methods in building planning and construction, standardization, and adaptability of structural units, building materials, and codes, economy in the manufacture, distribution, and utilization of building materials and supplies, transportation rates and facilities, periodical fuel and labor costs, production capacity, actual production, imports, exports, and available stocks of building materials and supplies, and periodical statistical information relating to prices of building materials and the volume of construction and housing, including information covering habitability, rental values, credit rates and facilities, and other matters relating to construction and housing." The bill would also grant authority for transferring the records of the shipping board and the Housing Corporation which could be made of service to the public.

You may object that you have heard of all these possibilities for years but that nothing has come of it. True, little has come of our private talk. That is why this task should be undertaken by the Federal government. Only the Federal government can command the resources to secure and disseminate reliable information thoroughly which will be accepted by the general public. This is a service peculiarly fitted to our theory of government, a service which should be helpful to all the people and yet with no hint of control. The bill is based on the theory that if the people know the facts they will be intelligent enough to act on them.

REASONABLE CREDIT

The activities of the department of commerce should be supplemented by government action to extend legitimate credit on real property. Through the Home Loan Bank bill (S. 797) and an amendment to the Federal Reserve act (S. 1836) it is hoped to make it possible for home owners and home builders to secure sound credit without the obligation of paying prohibitive fees for securing loans in addition to all the law will permit for interest.

The establishment of home loan banks would provide a very valuable extension of credit; but the passage of

the bill has been delayed, possibly because of its tax exemption features. Tax exemption is a charity, but as Mr. Franklin T. Miller so aptly says, when justice is not done charity becomes necessary. The government and the financiers have been unjust to the home builders in penalizing mortgage investments. Unless they retrace their steps immediately it will be necessary for the government to extend the charity of tax exemption which is only palliative for a disease contracted at government hands. It is no permanent cure and no one can predict how much actual relief it will bring to a highly complicated disorder.

The amendment of the Federal Reserve act strikes more at the root of the matter and would permit national savings banks to make long term loans on real estate. At the present time national banks are only permitted to loan on real estate up to 50% of the value for a period of six months. Formerly the banks made short term loans from their checking accounts and long term loans on accredited securities from their savings accounts. The saving banks, however, attracted by the profits of frequent turnover, have increased their short term loans.

Have you ever stopped to consider that the money deposited in the savings banks belong to the people? The deposits in town and country banks particularly represent the savings of the community. Even if the amendment to the Federal Reserve act should be passed, it would be necessary for the depositors to exercise their authority before generous loans on real estate would become common. It is true that the banker could no longer assure the would-be borrower that much as he would like to accommodate him he was prevented from doing so by the law of the land. If only half of the $2,000,000,000 of the people's money deposited in savings departments of national banks were released into housing through mortgages up to 60 per cent of the value, nearly half a million new houses could be financed from this one source alone. The example would undoubtedly release other credit. The Lockwood committee in New York has drawn a comparison between the shrinkage in railroad securities held by a prominent insurance company and the safe and sound mortgage investments of another.

You can see how closely extension of credit is tied with economy of production which will make *cost* of production represent real value. You can see also how this affair of credit is dependent upon maintenance of values by protection of neighborhoods through zoning and upon economy of land layout and street improvements attained by intelligent city planning. The wage earner can never command a fair proportion of credit for home building until his capital investment is squeezed dry from all those overweights of expense which he ought not to afford and protected from artificial and arbitrary shrinkage in value due to neighborhood changes.

We want to see our nation a country of home owners. If our citizens are to be wise rulers of the republic they must carry their share of the responsibilities which come from consecutive participation in community affairs. If the war is responsible for inaugurating a government service which will enable our citizens to become intelligent home owners in well-planned, convenient communities, with pride in their local self-government and faith in their national institutions, the Federal government will have made a reconstruction contribution of infinitely greater value than it was able to make by means of the war housing actually produced.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

The St. Louis Rapid Transit System, Present and Future. City Plan Commission. 1920. Pp. 36, with 18 maps, charts, and diagrams.

Report on Proposed Rapid Transit System for the City of Seattle. By A. H. Dimock, City Engineer, Carl H. Reeves, Superintendent of Public Utilities, and D. W. Henderson, General Superintendent of Railways. 1920. Pp. 8, with 8 illustrations.

While there is urgent need to-day in American cities to have local transportation revised and future lines provided in accordance with the broadest principles of city planning, at the same time there are certain principles of transportation which should not be ignored, and especially the experience of cities which have rapid transit systems in operation. Interesting as is the St. Louis report in some ways, it is very disappointing in its recommendation of subways for surface cars, especially in view of the drawbacks of such subways in Boston, after a trial of twenty-three years, as both extravagant and unsatisfactory in cost and operation, merely transferring many of the street car troubles underground. In the light of John A. Beeler's conclusive report of 1917 on the Boston situation, it is difficult to understand why subways for surface cars have been so persistently recommended for Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and now St. Louis.

A marked contrast to the action of these cities is found in the rapid transit report of the city of Seattle, which is unique in many ways for the breadth of the principles adopted and the avoidance of the mistakes of other cities. Train operation alone is provided for on the proposed rapid transit lines, with free and convenient transfer to surface lines, and such co-ordination with the latter as to permit the largest possible mileage of surface tracks to be removed from the streets, and also to get such real economy of operation as would make the rapid transit lines pay. Seattle is also profiting by the experience of other cities in planning to have all elevated structures ballasted, following Philadelphia in this respect, and avoiding the obsolete and noisy construction found in New York, Chicago, and Boston.

Even the Seattle plans, and still more those proposed for St. Louis, appear open to the suggestion, based on the experience of New York, that every large city should be provided at an early date with real rapid transit service, by means of express trains, operating out from the existing business center along some axis chosen as the best for spreading out the business district, with local service to be furnished, either by surface cars, as along the route of the Cambridge-Dorchester subway in Boston, or else by local trains in a four-track subway, as in New York. It is curious that the advantages of spreading out business along the four-track subway routes in New York has been so little recognized, and especially the growing opportunity for walking to work afforded to all classes, living along the length of Manhattan Island.

It appears very difficult for either the city planner or the transportation engineer to get away from the idea that all cities should be round, and that all transit lines should radiate from a business center. But the more one studies the effects of rapid transit on the growth of New York, the more one is convinced that the real aim of rapid transit should be to spread business and industry out so that more and more people can live in outlying sections and walk to their work, rather than that transit lines should be laid out so as to try to force all workers to ride farther and farther between their homes and a congested central district.

JOHN P. FOX.

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Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions in Missouri. By Isidor Loeb. Columbia: The State Historical Society of Missouri. 1920. Pp. 56.

This pamphlet deals primarily with the Missouri constitutional convention of 1875. It reports five constitutional conventions, the first two before Missouri became a state. The first of these was adopted in 1820 and continued to operate until 1865. In 1845 a constitution was rejected by the voters. During the period of secession four sessions of a convention were held, when a number of constitutional amendments were adopted, and in 1865 a constitution

was adopted. A résumé is given of the several conventions prior to 1875 in order to show the influence upon the later document.

One of the greatest differences between the 1875 constitution and the earlier ones was its size. It consisted of fifteen articles and a schedule. The article on the legislative department expanded more than 200 per cent. The author points out the evidence which shows a lack of confidence in the legislature. The main cause of this lack of trust was the abuse of special legislation. Financial limitations were also placed upon the legislature. The governor's veto power has been strengthened, and a short ballot substituted for a long one by provisions incorporated into the constitution.

Since 1875, ninety-nine amendments have been proposed, of which the twenty-three have been approved by the voters: a separate ballot for constitutional amendments and legislative acts referred by petition is provided.

If the voters express a desire for a constitutional convention in August, 1921, the historical data contained in this pamphlet will be invaluable to its members.

L. H.

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A Plan of Administrative Consolidation for Maryland. By Griffenhagen and Associates. The State of Maryland, Baltimore, Md. 1921. Pp. 66, with charts.

This is the title of a printed report submitted to Governor Ritchie on April 15 by Griffenhagen and Associates of Chicago. It proposes a plan of administrative reorganization which involves constitutional as well as statutory changes. The eighty-five existing administrative agencies are to be consolidated into twelve departments and offices. The governor is to be the only elective official, serving for a term of four years as at present. There is to be a comptroller appointed by the legislature who will perform the functions of independent audit and control over the administration. Directly under the governor there is to be an executive department, the administrative work of which will be under the direct supervisions of the secretary of state appointed by the governor. Ten other departments are to be established, namely, finance, law, militia, welfare, health, education, public works, commerce, labor, and employment and registration. Each of these departments is to be headed by a director appointed by the governor and serving at his pleasure. The directors will constitute the governor's cabinet and the secretary of state will act as secretary of the cabinet. The heads of bureaus in the departments are to be "permanent" officers qualifying under the merit system law recently adopted in Maryland.

The report is not excessive in length (66 pages); it is readable and on the whole very well done. Many other states would profit by having a similar survey made of their administrative agencies. Governor Ritchie has handed this report to a special commission which is now using it as a basis for working out a plan of reorganization to be submitted to the legislature next spring.

A. E. Buck.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

President's Reorganization Committee About To Report.—The Joint Committee on Reorganization of the Federal Administration, of which Mr. Walter F. Brown of Toledo is chairman, is about to issue its recommendations. The conclusions of the committee have been reached, after careful consideration, by grouping the present activities upon the principle of major purpose. When the major purpose could not easily be determined, as in the case of the consular service, some determining principle was sought. When the contact with business involves a foreign political unit it was thought that the service should be held in the state department; where the contact comes between American and foreign business it was thought that the service should be handled in the department of commerce. But because the consular offices are employed to gather commercial information, it is proposed that a representative of the department of commerce be stationed permanently in the offices of the state department in order to establish a sound and easy channel for the making available of commercial data secured by the consular service. This is simply an illustration of the method pursued.

In general the departments will probably line up as follows: state, national defense, treasury, interior (divided into public lands and public works), justice, post office, agriculture, commerce, labor and public welfare. The department of national defense will probably not provide for a separate air service, but the organizations of the army and navy will be preserved very much as they now are, with perhaps a single bureau of supply to serve both. It will be the purpose to eliminate all civil functions from the new department of national defense. Commerce will inherit all marketing functions, rivers and harbors, the Panama and other canals, and the life-saving stations from the coast guard. The administration of our island possessions will probably be gathered from the war, navy and interior departments, and placed as a bureau of insular affairs under the public domain of the department of the interior. Alaska will probably form a separate bureau of this same division. The department of public welfare will undoubtedly include: public education; public health; veteran rehabilitation, including pensions, war risk, rehabilitation activities and vocational training; and social service, including immigration, naturalization and the children's bureau. Indian affairs may be placed under public education.

Only one new activity will be recommended—that of an executive secretary or assistant to the president, with a suitable staff. Of late years the burdens placed on the president of the United States have entirely outgrown the very modest staff with which he is provided. It is, therefore, proposed that a new post be created which will probably command a remuneration and importance superior to that of cabinet officers.

The report of the committee is thus promised with surprising and gratifying promptness. The whole question of reorganization will then be squarely before congress. H. J.

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Radical Judiciary Reform Fails in Louisiana.—The Louisiana State Bar Association presented the constitutional convention with the draft of a modern judiciary article. But the very painstaking efforts of the association's committee made very little impression upon the convention, although that body had 91 lawyers in a total membership of 146. The recommended plan provided a presiding justice for each of four districts, and a council of judges to assist him in administration. It provided complete rule-making powers and a supreme judicial council to exercise such powers and generally to supervise the operation of the entire system of courts. Meetings of judges and statistical reporting were provided. An ingenious and promising plan for selection of judges was worked out, whereby the governor would appoint, with the consent of the senate, from a list of eligibles submitted by the supreme court. At stated periods the people would vote upon the continuance of judges in office, and they would continue unless a majority of those voting on the office of governor should vote in the negative. This would provide an expertly selected judiciary, with reasonable security of tenure, and sensible provision for removal at a popular election.[1]

[1] For the text of this report see *Journal of the Am. Jud. Soc.*, Vol. V, No. 1.

The article accepted by the convention ignores the need for rule-making powers, for unified administrative powers and meetings of judges, and offers no new ideas in respect to selection. It has the common defect of creating an elaborate system almost beyond reach of legislative relief and supposed to function by the miracle of individual efficiency guided by numerous detailed provisions. The confines of every district are constitutionally fixed, and even the number of days that certain courts shall sit. In New Orleans five trial courts are provided, several being of the obscure and inferior type which all large cities are endeavoring to escape from.

There are certain detailed provisions which deserve commendation: divisions of the appellate and supreme court shall reach their conclusions before assigning cases for the writing of opinions; there is provision for voluntary retirement and pension which should meet the common difficulty of the superannuated judge; the supreme court is given power to require all judges and officers to make reports; and the legislature is permitted to reduce the number of justices of the peace in any parish, or abolish the office entirely. The article is a workmanlike instrument, its defects being lack of vision on the part of its proponents, and not lack of skill in developing the old theory of a state judicial system.

HERBERT HARLEY.

The Minneapolis Election.—On June 13 Minneapolis held its first election under its new home rule charter, which it adopted last November. The contest for office of mayor was very heated, not to say bitter, despite the fact that the Minneapolis mayor has about as little power, aside from appointing the chief of police, as one could well imagine.

The law provided for nominations by primaries without reference to party affiliation, but the Republicans held an extra-legal pre-primary convention and endorsed Col. George E. Leach of the 151st U. S. Field Artillery. He was endorsed also by numerous Democrats and others who were fearful of having the city controlled by Socialists, Non-Partisan Leaguers and other radicals. He and Thomas Van Lear, former Socialist mayor, won the nominations in the primaries.

The control of public utilities and the war, and anti-war records of the two candidates, were the most prominent issues discussed in the campaign. The recent session of the state legislature passed a law putting the control of street car fares in the hands of the state railroad and warehouse commission. The passage of this law was considered a great victory of the Twin City Lines, whose charter expires in 1923, and whose efforts at renewal have kept Minneapolis stirred up for several years past. The importance of the recent city election was minimized greatly by this new state law, but gas, electric and telephone rates are still issues in city politics. Leach won the election with a total of 79,245 against 64,853 for Van Lear.

Some of the aldermanic contests were almost if not quite as heated as the mayorality one. The new council will be composed of 12 so-called radicals and 14 conservatives. This is a distinct gain for the former, and leaves the latter with a bare majority.

ROY G. BLAKEY.

County Government Notes.—The county home rule constitutional amendment in Michigan which failed at the regular session failed again at the special session through the opposition of the representatives of rural communities. A conference was held in Grand Rapids in June, and voted to bring the project before the people at the polls by an initiative petition at the next opportunity, which will be the November election of 1922. The text of the proposed amendment stands as follows:

> SECTION 7. . . . Provided, however, That the Legislature may provide by general law for the government of counties by an elected commission consisting of not less than three nor more than nine electors thereof, who shall be chosen from districts as the Legislature may provide; such commissions shall exercise the present constitutional powers of and perform the duties vested in the boards of supervisors and boards of county auditors, and such other powers as may be conferred by general law; the legislature may provide therein for the appointment by such commissions of any or all county officers; but no such general law shall take effect in any county unless and until adopted by sixty per centum of the electors thereof voting upon the question of its adoption. . . .

It will be noted that this amendment contemplates the abolition of the large boards of supervisors and makes possible a more compact governing body. It removes the constitutional barriers to unification of powers and a short ballot, and permits a county manager.

The civic organizations of Detroit made an effort at the last legislative session to improve the office of coroner in Detroit (House Enrolled

Act No. 173). As usual, with measures dealing with this refractory and obscure office, political powers rallied swiftly in opposition to the effort at improvement. The bill was defeated.

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An unofficial county charter committee in Sacramento is completing its plan looking to the election during the summer of a board of freeholders to frame a county charter on the county-manager principle.

✱

The Indiana legislature has passed the constitutional amendment to lengthen the term of county officers to four years and to permit abolition of the county surveyor, the purpose being to shorten the ballot.

R. S. C.

✱

Soldier Preference Law Held Void.—After two defeats in the lower courts, the New York State Civil Service Reform Association succeeded in securing a verdict in the New York Court of Appeals declaring void the law passed in 1920 giving preference in promotion to civil servants who had taken an examination for promotion and thereafter entered the military or naval service of the United States. Albert DeRoode represented the Civil Service Reform Association. With him on the brief were Elihu Root and Samuel H. Ordway.

The basis on which the law was claimed to be unconstitutional was that Article V, Section 9 of the Constitution provides for appointments and promotions to be according to competitive examination, except that there is a specific preference to Civil War veterans for appointment and promotion without regard to their standing on a list. It was contended generally that the constitution having provided a uniform system of promotion, with only one specific preference, the legislature could not lawfully give any other preference.

The effect of the law, if it had been upheld, would have been to give any person, who was on a preferred list at the breaking out of the war, and thereafter had merely entered the military or naval service, an absolute right to appointment to the position for which he took the promotion examination, irrespective of his standing on the eligible list. In this particular case, it was sought to prevent the appointment under this law of a man standing 363d on the list.

Under this decision the disabled veterans' act and the veterans' preference act, passed in 1921, extending absolute preference in appointments to disabled veterans and a measure of preference to all veterans, are probably unconstitutional. However the people will vote this fall on a constitutional amendment giving veterans of the late war the same preference as the constitution at present extends to the soldiers of the Civil War.

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Berkeley Votes for Zoning.—The zone ordinance of Berkeley, California, has been ratified by an advisory vote of the people. This ordinance provides for regulation of the use of property only, there being seven classes of use districts established—one for general residence, two kinds of business districts, two kinds of industrial districts, and two kinds of special use districts. It was prepared by the Berkeley city planning and civic art commission under the guidance of Charles H. Cheney as technical advisor, and was adopted originally by the city council in the early part of 1920, and its trial for nearly a year convinced the people of its value.

Mr. George L. Schneider, president of the city planning and civic art commission, in a statement made after the election vote had been analyzed, pointed out that while there was some opposition, it was definitely traceable to selfish interests which wanted to put warehouses or other undesirable buildings into residence districts where the majority of the neighborhood did not want them. In every case neighborhoods which had been previously invaded, or threatened with invasion, voted solidly for the ordinance, because the people in them understood the importance of zoning protection.

In establishing only one general residence classification, this ordinance does not repeal the previous piecemeal zone ordinance originally passed in March, 1916, which established several square miles of the city as districts for single family dwellings only, and provided for three other kinds of residence districts. The city has, therefore, in reality, eleven classes of use districts.

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Referendum Develops New Quirk in Missouri.—A referendum has been ordered on several important measures passed by the recent Missouri legislature, which was Republican and led by a Republican governor. The campaign for the necessary signatures to the petition was conducted by the state Democratic organization. The measures ordered to referendum include a number of administrative consolidation bills, a

judicial redistricting bill, a bill establishing a state budget system, a county unit educational bill and a workman's compensation measure. Under the law of Missouri these will not come to vote until November, 1922.

This is believed to be the first instance in which a political party carried to referendum practically the whole legislative program accomplished by the opposing majority in the legislature. The governor has pointed out that 70,000 people have nullified the results of an election in which 1,300,000 participated. The county unit bill and the reorganization measures followed lines generally progressive. How far the governor's party was moved by the "ripper" features of these measures cannot be determined. The minority, however, charges that these considerations controlled.

Already measures have passed one house of the special session of the legislature prohibiting payment for the circulation of petitions and amending the constitution by increasing the percentage necessary to call out a bill passed by the legislature. It is feared that if political organizations thus undertake to obstruct the state government, the referendum will become a means of legislative sabotage. The Republican majority may retaliate by repealing the present bills and re-enacting them in substantially the same form. The expense and trouble of a second petition would then be necessary.

✽

Alameda County to Have Manager Charter.—The first county manager so long awaited now seems likely to appear in Alameda county, California, although he will bear the special title of city and county manager. Alameda county includes Oakland, Alameda and Berkeley and seven smaller municipalities, so closely adjacent that local government has become very complex, and the tax rates 70 per cent higher than that of the combined city and county of San Francisco across the bay. Consolidation has been discussed off and on ever since 1912 under the leadership of the Tax Association, and a special constitutional amendment, applicable only to this county, was secured in 1918 leading to an election of a board of freeholders, February 3, 1921, with a mandate to submit a county manager charter not later than August, 1921. The freeholders at this writing have stated that the charter will merge all units within the county in one municipal government. All local powers will be vested in the central government except those expressly delegated to the boroughs. (Some degree of borough autonomy will be preserved.) There will be a council and manager. For tax purposes the city-county will be separated into a metropolitan district and a rural district.

R. S. C.

✽

Wide Choice in Federal Departments.—If all pending bills to create departments and bureaus of the United States government were adopted we should have:

Departments of Aeronautics (H. R. 3718); Conservation (H. R. 6378); Education (H. R.7—S. 523); Federal Highways (H. R. 2240); Health (S. 526); Land and Natural Resources (H. R. 4895); Mines (S. 1957); Public Works and Public Lands (S. 1896); Public Welfare (S. 1607 and 1839—H. R. 5837); Social Welfare (S. 408, replaced by S. 1607).

Bureaus of Aeronautics (in Navy, S. 656); Deaf and Dumb (in Department of Labor, H. R. 4108); Veteran Establishment (in department of Interior, H. R. 2283), (in Treasury, S. 925); Citizenship (H. R. 5346); Study of Criminal, Pauper and Defective Classes (H. R. 5617); Insular and Territorial Affairs (in Department of State, S. 1874); Supply (S. 1953).

H. J.

✽

Denver's Charter Preserved.—A series of initiated charter amendments radically modifying Denver's present short ballot charter met the disapproval of the voters at an election recently. The present charter makes all administrative offices appointive except the mayor and auditor and places full responsibility with the mayor. The amendments would have increased the city council from nine to seventeen, reduced the number of officers appointed by the mayor and added seventeen elective offices, abolished preferential voting and reduced water rates 10 per cent. The present mayor and council would have been legislated out of office.

The present mayor has been charged with using his office for political ends and permitting harmful moral influences to exist unchecked. The people of Denver, however, are to be congratulated upon their political sagacity, which enabled them to appreciate that their short ballot charter enables them properly to locate blame for misgovernment, and that they did not burn down the house to roast the pig.

Kalamazoo's New Charter.—At the election last spring the people of Kalamazoo elected a charter commission to frame a new charter of the mayor-alderman type. The commission is now at work. Indications are that the present reaction against city-manager government will result in anything but an approved form of mayor and council government. The commission has rejected the plan for a strong mayor with well-arranged departments under single heads, in favor of administrative boards appointed by the mayor subject to confirmation by council. The terms of board members are to overlap and they are to serve without pay.

*

Fresno Adopts Novel Charter.—Fresno, California, has adopted a charter providing for a commission of five members elected for four year terms. Provision is made for a commissioner of public safety and welfare (ex-officio mayor), a commissioner of finance, commissioner of public works, and two additional members, to be known as the legislative commissioners. The first three have complete supervision of their respective departments and with the two additional commissioners appoint a city-planning board, a social service board and various municipal officers as well as performing the duties usually found in the commission plan. The commissioners of finance and public works are intended to be specialized experts but elected by the people.

EDWIN A. COTTRELL.

*

Maryland Considers State Reorganization.—Governor Ritchie has appointed a state reorganization committee to report a plan for reorganizing the administrative departments. A smaller sub-committee, headed by W. M. Maloy of Baltimore, will do the real work. The scope of the committee's work is yet to be determined.

*

Louisiana Secures New Constitution.—The Louisiana constitutional convention has promulgated a new constitution, and adjourned. Those who fought for its submission to the people for acceptance or rejection lost, and the constitution goes into effect without an expression of popular vote. The new organic law will be analyzed in our next issue.

*

Second Connecticut Town Adopts Council Manager Plan.—Stratford, Connecticut, follows closely upon New London in adopting a council manager charter by the same vote of 2 to 1. The council consists of nine members elected by districts and subject to the recall. The charter follows the approved form and includes the initiative and referendum. The League's literature helped in the campaign.

*

The Cleveland Campaign for a manager charter waxes warm. At this writing it is probable that the city council will succeed in preventing a special election in September. The election, therefore, will probably be held in November.

*

Reorganization in Connecticut.—The civil administrative code consolidating the administration of Connecticut under ten departments was defeated in the recent legislature. A bill was passed creating a new commission to study the subject further and report to the next general assembly.

II. ACTIVITIES OF AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Watch for Civic Revival Week—November 12-17, 1921!
Would a War Memorial Exhibit Increase the Interest in Civic Revival Week?
What twenty towns will form the Town Conference Circuit for 1921?

Official Trip to Yellowstone and Kings River Canyon.—Following the practice of the American Civic Association of securing reliable information on controversial issues in order that its board and its members may arrive at intelligent conclusions, a trip has been organized this summer to the Kings River Canyon. Applications have been filed with the Federal Power Commission for power sites in the Kings River Canyon by the cities of Los Angeles and Fresno. Some of these developments would lie with the area of the proposed Roosevelt National Parks. Messrs. Desmond Fitzgerald, Frederick Law Olmsted and Harlan Kelsey are, at their own expense, making a careful survey of the situation on the ground. Through the financial co-operation of

the Audubon Society and the Sierra Club it has been possible to arrange for an official photographer to accompany the expedition. The party will stop at the Yellowstone, where an effort will be made to secure as complete data concerning the Yellowstone River as was secured last year by Mr. William C. Gregg concerning the Falls River Basin.

The findings of the expedition will be made available in the autumn.

✠

Roanoke Comes In.—The civics division of the Association of Commerce of Roanoke, Virginia, has become an affiliated member of the American Civic Association and a subscriber to the REVIEW. The division issues monthly a multigraphed communication to its members called *Civic Sparks*. This is a suggestion for those organizations which have been forced to discontinue their organs because of the high cost of printing.

✠

The Route of Resolutions.—The resolution which the American Civic Association passed at its board meeting concerning the National Botanic Gardens was sent to the President of the United States, who, in the course of routine business, transmitted it to the chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts. But Honorable Charles Moore, chairman of the commission, did not allow the matter to rest there. In his acknowledgement of the reference of the resolution to the commission by the President, he states, under date of July 11: "The purpose of the resolution is to call to the attention of the President the fact that the American Civic Association desires to support the action of congress concerning the site for the Grant Memorial and also concerning the proposed creation of a National Botanic Garden in the city of Washington." Mr. Moore also calls the attention of the President to the fact that fully thirty of the great organizations in the country interested in plant life have endorsed the project.

✠

What the Towns Are Thinking About.—Judging from the subjects covered in the inquiries received from the towns during the past month, zoning, billboards and war memorials are to the fore. Local organizations not only want to learn about good zoning laws, they want to secure information as to how to secure popular support for their measures. One town wants to know what can be done about the unsightly signs painted on brick walls of business buildings to advertise the wares within. Is there any better method to regulate this than the one used in Springfield, Massachusetts, where the merchants in two blocks were persuaded voluntarily to adopt a small, plain sign of uniform size and type? If such a plan improves the appearance of two blocks, would it not equally improve the entire down-town section of any town?

HARLEAN JAMES.

III. GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE NOTES

The San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research is putting on an extensive financial campaign, in immediate charge of C. O. Dustin. This is the second bureau to attempt to raise funds through a professional campaign organization.

Hume Bacon, formerly with the Institute for Public Service, is now with P. N. Gray & Company, Exporters, 8 Bridge Street, New York City.

The National Institute for Public Administration has been organized to train men and women for public service, and to improve standards of governmental administration. It is a successor of the Training School for Public Service, and continues the technical consulting and research activities of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, which has been fused with the Institute.

Darrell Smith, formerly with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, is now with the Institute for Governmental Research at Washington.

W. O. Heffernan, formerly budget commissioner for Ohio, and then with the Institute for Public Service, is now engaged in industrial engineering for the Bankers Trust Company of New York.

The Institute for Public Service has acquired the editorial managership of the *National School Digest*, and has opened extensive offices on Amsterdam Avenue at 115th Street, New York City. In addition to editing an educational magazine, the Institute will maintain a school exhibit and continue its field research activities.

W. A. Averill, formerly with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, and later with

the Educational Department of New York State, has joined the staff of the Institute for Public Service.

Service Citizens of Delaware, Public Library Building, Wilmington, has issued an extensive report on its activities for 1920. Mr. Pierre S. duPont is president, and Dr. Joseph H. O'dell, director.

T. L. Hinckley, formerly on the consulting staff of the American City Bureau, is now secretary of the Chamber of Commerce at Middletown, Conn.

Prof. John A. Fairlie, of the University of Illinois, is on a research assignment for the Institute for Government Research at Washington during the summer.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

National Council for Social Studies Organized.—Educators in all parts of the country and abroad, and in all strata of school and college work, are deeply concerned about the teaching of economic, political and social organization, and the training of young people in the best that history has to offer. What has long been needed to bring some fruit from this general interest is an organization of those who are demanding that something concrete be done. It is only natural that those most interested in training in what has come to be called "The Social Studies" should be drawn in different directions by their particular interests. University professors of departments of study wish to secure recognition for their subjects in the schools; curriculum makers and school administrators, worried over the crowded courses of study, resist the introduction of new subjects and argue forcefully against the need of such new subjects.

The political scientists demand that government be given separate time and separate teachers; the economists make similar demands. The historians claim that they have a right to at least all the school time they have ever had; and the sociologists believe that their subject is as worthy of recognition in the schools as is history. Geography is neglected almost entirely in our secondary schools, and the geographers, through their national association, are protesting against this condition of neglect. The result has been confusion, heated argument, distrust, and in some cases an indisposition to undertake a co-operative effort. It now seems, however, as if a beginning has been made to bring order out of the chaos and to organize for the schools a course of study which will give to each subject the recognition which disinterested persons believe to be reasonable.

The National Council for the Social Studies, mentioned in a recent number of the REVIEW, has organized with Albert E. McKinley of Philadelphia, president, and Edgar Dowson of Hunter College, New York, secretary-treasurer. The executive office is 671 Park Avenue, New York.

The officers and advisory board represent the committees on education in the schools of the national associations of economists, historians, political scientists, and sociologists; they also represent the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. The permanent organization, which is to follow this temporary one, will doubtless include the organizations of elementary school principals and of professors of education; and the geographers will also be asked to participate. The council will be a federal union of agencies for the purpose of co-operating in the formulation of a course of study, the development of teacher training, and such other undertakings as are necessary to make the Social Studies worthy of the place in the curriculum which they are coming to receive.

*

Music Week in Washington.—Washington has had a Music Week which will undoubtedly increase interest and participation in musical programs for many months to come. The week began on Sunday, May 29, when the churches offered special music. Memorial Day gave a solemn but effective setting for the musical program of Monday. On Friday, June 3, a human wheel of children on the Ellipse rendered a serenade to the President and gave a most impressive exhibition of mass singing. Mr. Robert Lawrence, who planned the week and led the mass singing, is a past master. It is to be hoped that the music weeks which he organizes in the different towns will lead to permanent committees on civic music throughout the country.

H. J.